

The South African Outlook

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The South African Outlook

We do not test God's resources until we pray for the impossible.

—Samuel Zwemer.

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Under the Public Safety Act.

This number of the *Outlook* is being prepared for the press in circumstances quite unprecedented in its long history, even though it has had its experience of stringent war-time restrictions on various occasions. For we write and edit under the restraint of a Proclamation under the Public Safety Act, which makes it quite impossible to comment with any real freedom, or even print news which might conceivably be interpreted as subversive or calculated in any way to weaken the Government in dealing with the state of emergency which it has declared. Obviously South African periodicals, of all kinds and whatsoever their objectives, must accept the duress, since if anything is to be printed about the pressing questions or tragic happenings of the day, it must be done with extreme and perhaps crippling caution, lest it be construed as an offence, involving the possibility of a fine of £500 or five years in gaol. This relates to anything which might be held to be critical of the Government or of its police, or of any of its other agents.

Nor are the usual and familiar safeguards, such as writs of habeas corpus or other court actions, of any avail. It is provided that anybody may be arrested if the Minister of Justice, or a magistrate, or a commissioned officer of police decides that such action is in the interests of public safety and order. It is not impossible that such arrests may sometimes be arbitrary and prove later on to be quite unjustified, but the courts can no longer protect individuals from them; they have no

longer any say, for the discretion given to the authorities is absolute.

It amounts to this—no public or private opinion which disagrees with that of the Government has any forum in which it can be expressed but Parliament. Consequently a greater responsibility than ever rests upon those Houses and on all the parties in them; upon the Opposition groups, that they let nothing whatever pass by default, if they think it unwise; and upon the Government to pay more heed than usual to what comes from the other side of the House. For, in its wisdom, it has restricted all other sources of criticism or constructive counsel, and only the abysmal fool claims that he has all wisdom. We may all recall with profit the request of Oliver Cromwell to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland over three hundred years ago—"I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

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The Union's Jubilee, and Prayer.

Christian people in South Africa must be superficial folk and impercipient indeed if they can look out on the situation in which their country finds itself in this year of jubilee celebrations and not see in it an urgent call to prayer. It is so painfully clear that we are where we are, beset by troubles, by fears and tangles, by sheer walls of stupidity, by precipices of prejudice, because we have not kept touch with the Guide. For so many of us the call to joyfulness and celebration over fifty years of political union has evoked the reaction (after brief reflection, perhaps, that fifty years is after all a very short chapter in the life of a nation) that any stock-taking at this milestone, if it is to be true, must include the losses as well as the gains. Otherwise any jubilation is false. How much there is on the debit side which cannot be overlooked by those who shared the great hopes abroad in 1910! The biggest item, surely, is that so much ground has been lost in interracial relationships, the most vital of all our issues, and this alone makes it impossible for so many to hail with unqualified enthusiasm the undoubtedly notable advances in many spheres of a more material character. The sincere appreciation which thoughtful people have for much that has been achieved is inevitably clouded by a distressing awareness of so much undone—whether in the sense of tasks unaccomplished, or in the sense of the undoing of good that had already been established at the time that union came about.

No ! Observation of the comments of many earnest Christian men and women, or of the correspondence columns of many of our newspapers, or of the counsel given from many of the pulpits throughout the land, tells us plainly that for a large number of people the call to celebration is seen rather as a call to prayer. How else are we to think of a year assigned for jubilation but already shadowed so deeply by hatred and tragedy, and by the attempted assassination of our Prime Minister ? We are divided as never before. There is more fear and there is more despair in our midst than at any time past. The prejudice against Christianity, at any rate as professed by the white people, is rising, notwithstanding the devoted work of minister and missionary, and resistance to the Gospel message is hardening. Our social system has bred the 'tsotsi' gangs that for many years have continued to make decent life impossible in many Native townships. Nor dare we forget the many unedifying instances of disunity just where it is most distressing and inexcusable, namely in our inter-church relationships. There is fear over the land, and deep uneasiness over things going on in the dark. And at the same time throughout the world that encircles us it would seem that an odium is building up against us with great possibilities for harm and misunderstanding. Surely then, to all who follow Christ the call of this fiftieth anniversary is overwhelmingly a call to pray, not to a mere pious use of words, however beautiful or hallowed, but to the deep sincerity and humility, to the heart-searching that acknowledges our failure and desperate need of God. These generate real prayer of the kind that gives light and the grace to walk in it.

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,

Lest we forget, lest we forget !

For heathen heart that puts her trust

In reeking tube and iron shard—

All valiant dust that builds on dust,

And guarding calls not Thee to guard—

For frantic boast and foolish word,

Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord !

These words from another jubilee have point for us today.

* * * *

Shock Treatment.

It is beginning to be evident that a stirring of thought and an opening of eyes is resulting from the shocking happenings at Sharpsville and Langa in March coming as they have so soon after the murders at Cato Manor. Perhaps we may yet be able to see that those who were killed or wounded did not suffer in vain. It has so often been said in recent years by people concerned about the internal peace of South Africa that nothing less than some dreadful calamity would awaken the country as a

whole to the evils so deeply established in its social system. There is more than a suggestion today that things are working out that way.

Let the senior member of the Cabinet be the first witness. At the Union Festival celebrations at Humansdorp, which he represents in Parliament, Mr. Sauer made a remarkable and possibly historic speech. He did not disassociate himself in any way from the general direction of Government policy, but he called for a new approach to the whole question of our black and white relationships, asserting that the "old book" of South African history was closed at Sharpsville and that our immediate task was to reconsider "in earnestness and honesty" our whole appraisal of the Native Question. This involved, in his judgment, better relationships between races, amendment of the pass laws and of the liquor laws, and immediate attention to the matter of higher wages for Africans working in urban industries.

The significance of talk of this kind may be better seen if we recall that a week or two earlier one of Mr. Sauer's colleagues, the man entrusted with the portfolio of Bantu Administration and Development, had also been making a speech at Union Festival celebrations, in this case at Bultfontein in the Free State, and had said that he was optimistic about the relations between white and non-white, for they were better than ever before !

The public will have little doubt as to which speech was the better worth listening to. Indeed the advocates of reappraisal are being heard in all directions.

* * * *

Never the same again.

The London *Times* of the 26th of March, (the day of Mr. de Wet Nel's Bultfontein speech) opened its main leader with the statement "Things will never be the same again in the Union of South Africa." The stirrings in our midst are very evident. The *Burger*, which leads the support of the Government in the Cape Province, had on the previous day said some frank things.

"The point can be reached where the white people will tend either towards a policy of capitulation or towards desperate politics of expulsion (of the urban Natives) at any price.

Either one of the two policies could be fatal for South Africa, white or black. We do not for a moment believe that such despairing steps need be taken, but we know also that the time is very, very short. We have been given a new insight into the realities of black labour in our cities.

Our legislators must give top priority to the reconsideration of the position of the Native in the cities, with an open and realistic heart and a willingness to do what is found necessary in our new situation."

Yet it is not so long since the Prime Minister said that

he never had any sleepless nights about the colour question because he knew he was right. He has had very painful cause to be persuaded to face the situation anew.

Then we have the Cape Town City Council adopting without dissent a motion introduced as a matter of great urgency by a prominent Nationalist member, calling for a change of the present system of migratory Native labour to one of family settlements on the fringes of the urban areas. Said the mover, Mr. Andrag, "We have erred in our handling of the problems of the treatment of the Bantu. We must be guided by the principle of 'love thy neighbour as thyself' and 'do unto others as you would have them do to you.... It would be good policy for industry to pay higher wages than Natives in Cape Town could live an ordinary family life.'"

From another part of the country, from the University of the O.F.S., we find one of our leading historians, Professor C. J. Uys, saying to us that we must not fail to realise that "the Black caravan is now on the march and account will have to be taken of this.... The future of a handful of whites in South Africa will depend on their ability to adapt themselves.... If we do not.... ensure the cooperation of the Bantu and their recognised leaders, then leadership will slip out of the hands of the whites before the next half-century has passed."

Or we may go to another essentially Afrikaner University and listen to the Vice-Chancellor of Stellenbosch Dr. J. S. Gericke, talking to his evening congregation on a recent Sunday about "the flood of Black nationalism in Africa."

"I do not want to discuss the question whether it is necessary or good to try to halt such a flood. It is no longer relevant in these serious times. The thing that is relevant and which must be accepted by us, whether we like it or not, is that human hands can no longer avert it. The proverbial wind of change has become a hurricane and the whole world approves of it."

* * * *

The voice of Business.

Industry and commerce are wont with us to go about their business without much public voicing of their opinions on political affairs, but in recent weeks we have had a variety of pronouncements calling the country and its leaders to think and think again. In Port Elizabeth, for instance, at the annual meeting of the local Chamber of Commerce, the president, Mr. Peter Mosen-thal, claimed that the time had come for organised commerce to make its voice heard in the political arena. Commerce must speak—and speak up. The Almighty in His wisdom had decided that South Africa was going to be a multi-racial country and the sooner people realised this the better. He stated that the executive

body of the chamber was particularly unhappy about the Government's failure so far to consult responsible African leaders. "It does appear" he said, "that the Bantu population has certain legitimate grievances which should be righted, not by intimidation and force but by consultation."

* * * *

The Prime Minister's ordeal.

The attempt on the life of the Prime Minister has shocked and distressed all decent people without distinction of race or colour or party. It appears probable that investigation will show that it was the irresponsible act of a man of periodic instability of mind satisfying his own ego, rather than acting as an agent of any organisation or group. The country as a whole seems to have accepted it as such and not to have surrendered to any hysteria. For that, at least, we may give thanks and also for the fact—and how often we have heard this said in recent days—that it was not the work of a non-European. But a sense of the enormity of this dastardly attack haunts the South African scene, raising in many minds the horrible fear that it may reflect the level to which political feeling is in danger of descending in our land.

It is good to be assured that Dr. Verwoerd has come through his terrible experiences in a way that seems almost miraculous, and we thank God that the prayers of the country have been answered so definitely and so soon. If we are wise we shall see in this sinister incident a call to penitence, if only for the fact that our so often mis-called white Christian civilization has been thus disgraced in so many observant eyes.

We would tender to the Prime Minister our sincere sympathy on having been subjected to an ordeal so terrible, and our congratulations on having so speedily come through pain and discomfort to a point where complete recovery can be assured. Mrs. Verwoerd and the children have been continually in the people's prayers.

* * * *

Broadcasting for Africans.

Parliament has been dealing with a bill to establish a Bantu Broadcasting Service on a full-time basis separate from the existing S.A.B.C. services and using the appropriate African languages. We are very glad that there was general agreement that development in this direction is much to be desired, though a considerable difference of opinion emerged during the debate over the machinery proposed, viz. a separate Board of Control subordinate to the S.A.B.C. Board of Governors in some respects only. Some members thought this an unbusinesslike arrangement as well as being likely to lend itself to political indoctrination, as is the wont in communist and totalitarian countries, rather than the fulfilling of the

true function of broadcasting. This latter fear rather lost its edge when the Minister in charge of the bill pointed out that there would be nothing to prevent Africans listeners from tuning in to any programme they wanted.

That no African at all is to be appointed to the special Board is a more valid objection to the present plan, and the answer that it was not the policy of the Government to have mixed boards, and that even if it were, it would not be in the interests of the Bantu, was very unconvincing. It is a fair inference from this unfortunate decision and from much that was said in the course of the debate that the true function of broadcasting, which has been well defined as "to entertain and enlighten listeners as they themselves desire" is likely to take second place to the idea of giving the African what the White man believes to be good for him. It seems a pity, but, after all, the air is open to all nonetheless.

Dr. Eiselen.

The man who has been Secretary of the Department of Native Affairs for more than ten years and as such the king-pin of the whole apartheid policy and effort, is on leave pending his official retirement next month. Known chiefly as an educationist during the earlier part of his career, when he was, successively, high school teacher, professor of Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch and Pretoria Universities, and Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, he was appointed to the key post he has held by Dr. Malan, with Dr. Verwoerd as minister in charge of the department. He had for some years been one of the prominent expounders of the theory of complete separation between white and black as offering the best future for both in the sub-continent. In this opinion he was entirely serious and sincere, as distinct from the common run of those who supported apartheid more volubly but with less intelligence or sincerity, and with fear for the future as their predominant motive.

The offer of the post of commander of the battleship *Apartheid* was obviously one that he found difficult to refuse, though some at least of those who knew him wondered how a man of his quality of mind and integrity would fare in the, to them, impossible effort of getting his ideals across in the rough and tumble of public life. It has astonished them that he has stood it so long, for he must, they feel, have found it very distressing to witness the cruel mess which the politicians made of an ideal based originally on justice all round, whatever the cost to the white man—an ideal tenable enough in theory, if only no attempt was made to carry it out. He is reported to have said in a speech made at a farewell function organised by the staff of his department that he

held firmly as ever to the ideal but that it had taken a wrong turning after it became official policy. If it is true that he spoke in this vein, it may be assumed that he was by way of putting things mildly, for it is difficult to think that any sort of idealist could fail to be hurt by the many avoidable hardships which numbers of Africans, especially women and children, have had to undergo because of the combings and dislocations for which his department has been responsible.

At the function mentioned the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced that Dr. Eiselen is to be inspanned immediately on his return from leave to do a very important task. It is understood that he is to be appointed as the first Commissioner-General for the Northern Sotho area.

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Wilgespruit Ecumenical Work Camp 1960.

Interested people are cordially invited to participate in the eleventh annual ecumenical work-camp to be held 4-23 July at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, Roodepoort, Transvaal.

The camp is open to any between the ages of 18-30 who may wish to join in the work and study and all inclusive ecumenical fellowship. Preference will be given to those staying the longer period or for the full time.

The chief project this year will be the construction of an outdoor chapel—amphitheatre.

Campers will be asked to meet their own travelling expenses and if possible contribute toward the cost of boarding. Beds and mattresses will be supplied but campers will have to bring their own bedding and toilet requisites.

This is an accredited international work camp of the World Council of Churches Youth Department. It is anticipated that several overseas participants will again be with us. All denominations and groups are welcome.

If you are interested please send your applications or your inquiries as early as possible to: The Warden, Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, P.O. Box 81, Roodepoort, Transvaal, Union of South Africa.

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Springbok cricket captain Jackie McGlew gave an address at the Y.M.C.A. in Maritzburg shortly before he left for England. closing words were:—

"To do good in this world now, and to be honest at a time when dishonesty may seem to be expedient; to hold the hope of peace in the midst of strife; to love and not hate; to build and not destroy; to be true to one's highest ideals at a time when ideals may not seem to matter much any more; to have faith that in all, and around all, and above all, is God who is just and true—THAT is exercising the will to believe in our time!"

Why is 1650 an Important Year in the History of Scotland?

Rev. D. W. Semple, M.A.

THE answer is simple—it was the year of the Reformation in Scotland. And it was in Scotland that the Reformed Church won its greatest victories. We may ask why the Church required to be reformed. According to Dr. Hume Brown, the Scottish historian, these were the reasons: 1. John Knox and those who thought like him considered that the religion of the Church of Rome was not the religion of the Bible. 2. They thought the clergy were doing more harm than good owing to their neglect of their duties. 3. More than a third of the wealth of the country was in the hands of the clergy, and, whereas the people generally were terribly poor, the bishops and abbots lived in luxury. And many of the clergy were so ignorant they were not fit to be ministers of religion. The Reformers therefore were convinced that the time had come for big changes to be made in the Church.

For the occasion the leader had been prepared. John Knox (1505-1572), after short ministries in Scotland and England, had to seek refuge on the Continent when Mary Tudor became queen of England, and he had to spend many years in exile. But they were years put to good account. For four years he was minister to the Protestant congregation in Geneva during which time he saw a lot of John Calvin and met many of the Reformation ministers who, like himself, were in exile. During his time in exile Knox was brooding over the condition of the Church in his beloved Scotland, becoming more and more convinced that to meet Scotland's need there was only one remedy—the Practice and Procedure of the Reformed Church: the doctrine, discipline, worship and government of the Church, modelled on the basis of the Word of God. The Reformation doctrine laid emphasis on the sovereignty and providence of God who rules the world by His eternal decrees and whose will no man can thwart or defeat. The grace of God is irresistible and salvation is by faith alone; no intermediary priest was necessary, for all believers were priests with direct access to God. The Reformed Church began at the very foundation. The Bible was the only authority, and the only Head and King of the Church was Christ. In the Bible was to be found all the necessary teaching regarding the life and organisation of the Church. The new Church was Reformed on the basis of the New Testament Church. In contradistinction to the Roman Catholic Church it claimed to be the Holy Catholic Church, and while its members might belong to the Church in Switzerland or

Scotland or Holland they were taught to consider themselves members of the universal Church of Christ, apart from which they could have no real life. Did not Christ say, "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached to the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations"?

The Reformed Church and the State. The temporal power of the Bishop of Rome was anathema to the Reformed Church. And the Reformation in England suffered from the ambition of Henry VIII who tried to make himself a secular pope, "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England." The Reformed Church, because its Head is Christ, cannot be subject to earthly rulers. These have authority in their own spheres but they should have no authority in the Church and they cannot dictate as to faith or worship or church government. This principle led to many a struggle and many a martyrdom, and in the freedom we enjoy we should not forget the debt we owe to the pioneers of the Reformed Church.

The ferment of the Reformation had been stirring strongly in Scotland for two decades before the event, and only a leader was necessary. The hour had come and so had the man. In response to an urgent summons Knox returned to Scotland in 1559. He was chosen and prepared by God not only to give Scotland a change of religion but also to be the prime mover in the making of Scotland into a nation. He knew well what was at stake. It was not only the freedom of the people of Scotland to worship God in the new way of the Reformation. He took the long view and he had in mind as well the churches of England and the Continent: and he knew that there never would be peace for England or Scotland till the two kingdoms were united. He had the mind of a statesman and the heart of a flaming evangelist.

In August 1560 the Scottish Parliament abolished the jurisdiction of the Papacy in Scotland, and the General Assembly commissioned Knox and five other ministers to prepare a Book of Policy and Discipline for the Church. In four days they had prepared "The Scots Confession"—a full statement of the doctrines accepted and proclaimed in the Reformed Church, and it was approved by a later General Assembly. "The point to be observed is that in this Confession the Church made clear that it was not promulgating new and unauthorised doctrine, as its enemies alleged, but was standing for the pure, historic faith of the Church, the 'faith once delivered to the saints.'"

The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers was a completely revolutionary doctrine, for it meant that religion was entirely a matter between the believer and his God. At that time religion was a matter of the State as well. If the Reformation was to have vital and practical effect the State must cease to be Roman and become Protestant. When Mary, Queen of Scots, arrived on the scene from France in 1561 the situation was explosive. Protestant England and Catholic France each had their eye on Scotland. Many wished to have the Mass celebrated in Holyrood Palace but Knox was adamant that such a thing could not be tolerated. If it was, it would give France an undue advantage in the coming struggle. The new Scotland must be linked with Protestant England at all costs. The Scottish Parliament and the Church were in agreement about the abolition of the Papacy, and the guiding principle of Knox was that rulers exercised authority for the public good, and that in a free and properly constituted Government the law of the land took precedence over the wishes of the ruler: that the ruler could rule only by the consent of the people. To quote Froude: "The Protestantism of Scotland was the creation of the Commons as in turn the Commons may be said to have been created by Protestantism. The Commons, as an organised body, were simply created by religion. They might love their country: they might be proud of anything which would add lustre to its crown; but if it was to bring back the Pope and Popery, they would have nothing to do with it, nor would they allow it to be done. Allegiance was well enough, but there was a higher allegiance suddenly discovered which superseded all earthly considerations." Knox withstood papal power by two unshakeable principles—submission of the conscience to God's will as declared in the Bible, and "submission to Governments only in so far as they were in conformity with that will, resulting in the creation of Scotland as a Protestant nation. In the Reformation were contained the germs of her future greatness."

By taking this stand Knox was serving and saving England as well as Scotland. Had it not been for him it is possible that Mary, when she returned from France in 1561 would have consolidated the bond between France and Scotland, thereby strengthening the hold of Rome upon Scotland and rendering union with England unlikely. Thanks to Knox the Reformation in Scotland became a reality. Protestantism became the religion of Scotland and the power of the Papacy was so curtailed it could never again become a dominating factor in the land. But Protestantism had to be incorporated in the Constitution. Romanism made the Church supreme: Erastianism made the State supreme. Knox, with the words of Jesus as a guide: "Render to Caesar the things

that belong to Caesar and to God the things that belong to God," saw that the solution was that Church and State should be supreme in their respective spheres. The civil magistrate exercised his authority by divine appointment: the Church in its own sphere was to be supreme, and in due course (1567) this acknowledgement was placed on the Statute Book of Scotland. "The Confession thus became part of the law of the land and the Reformed Church was legally recognised in Scotland."

When Knox returned from exile in 1559 he was fifty four years of age, somewhat old to embark on such a campaign. But most of the world's great generals have been elderly men. Knox died in 1572 and in those thirteen years his achievement was prodigious. He was the architect of a new Church and of a new nation. And though hard times were ahead and much persecution to be endured the foundation was well and truly laid. After nearly a century of ups and downs under the false and despotic Stewart kings who did their best to stamp out the Reformed Church (Presbyterian) in Scotland, by the Revolution Settlement of 1690 the Church of Scotland was declared to be Presbyterian. When the Union of the Parliaments took place in 1707 an Act for the maintenance of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was passed according to which the British Sovereign, before his/her coronation takes an oath to maintain "the government, worship, discipline, rights and privileges of the Church of Scotland." The signing of this oath is the first official act of the new Sovereign.

It's a far cry from 1560 and "old, unhappy, far-off things and battles long ago" to 1960 and Ecumenicity and the World Council of Churches and the British Council of Churches and the Christian Council of South Africa and the others: and we say that such things could not happen now. Who knows? It is fitting that the fourth centenary is to be worthily celebrated at special meetings of the General Assembly in Scotland and in other countries. These will serve their purpose if they inspire the Reformed Churches to meet the demands of the contemporary situation with the same courage and devotion to the fundamental truth of the Holy Scriptures that inspired Knox and his followers four hundred years ago. "Ecclesia reformata, ergo semper reformanda." The battle never ceases. Courageous thinking and unswerving loyalty to the principles which won the victory in the sixteenth century are called for if the Church is to maintain its freedom against totalitarianism. World Dominion and National Churches enjoying Government support are conceptions far from dead or things of the past. Eternal vigilance is the watchword of the heirs of the Reformation.

The Church of Scotland today, formed by the Union

of the original Church of Scotland—called variously the Established Church or the Auld Kirk—with the United Free Church of Scotland in the year 1929, with its Constitution recognised and ratified by the British Parliament, has been acclaimed as the freest National

Church in the world today, and among “the great cloud of witnesses” surely John Knox looked down and was satisfied with what was done in Edinburgh on that second of October, 1929.

The Point of View of the Dutch Reformed Church

(The attitude of the great Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa to the present unrest among non European South Africans is often discussed and too often misunderstood. It was recently set out authoritatively by a group of moderators and leaders in “Die Kerkbode,” where it was given a prominent position, and we feel that it may help towards better understanding if it is reproduced in translation in these pages. The signatories do not write in their official capacities, but it may be assumed that their views are shared by their Church as a whole.)

WE, the undersigned ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa have observed with great dismay the tragic and shocking happenings in our own land of late. We wish to express our deep sympathy with all who have been affected by them, of whatever race they may be.

The unfavourable world-wide publicity and repercussions compel us to make the following declaration from the church's point of view.

1. Church leaders both here and overseas have allowed themselves the liberty of commenting and making shocking statements before the facts have been judicially determined. We would very earnestly ask churches overseas and here to display a great sense of responsibility. We cannot be content with the persistent slander of our land, people, and church by untrue and distorted information. We would warn the outside world that irresponsible action of this kind, persisting over years and ever increasing in intensity and fury, is working to precipitate in our land a disaster of which it is impossible to see the end. The unqualified support and encouragement given to a certain portion of the population only serves to hand civilization and Christendom (as represented by both black and white) over to the undermining activities of unscrupulous and irresponsible elements.

We would assert that the pathological interest in and the condemnation of South Africa do not always have their origin in Christian responsibility but indicate social humanism and the hysterical urge of the West to outbid the East for the favour of the non-whites of Africa, for the sake of the ideological struggle for self-determination. This necessarily creates the impression that all that the non-whites do is right and all the actions of the

lawful authority necessarily stand condemned before world opinion.

The distorted picture which the world press has for a long time given in regard to South Africa is an evil and dangerous game which the peoples of Western Europe may regret in the end just as sorely as the handful of whites in South Africa. Never in history have so many devilish suggestions been made over so long a time to so many millions of people who have not the ability to judge. We would therefore issue a call to the consciences of our brethren in Christ in the world to halt this dangerous game and to assist in working against it before it is too late.

2. Notwithstanding all that we are doing and have done in the past as a church to fulfil our Christian and social calling towards the non-whites of Africa, we remain painfully conscious of our shortcomings and the arrears which must be overtaken in order to establish the Kingdom of God in Africa.

We accept as Christian citizens the faults made by church, people, and successive governments in the handling of our great and unusually intricate land problems. For this reason the church has always reckoned it its duty to communicate with the Government by recognised channels and to approach it about any affair which has seemed to be in conflict with Christian conscience or the Word of God.

We would now again, as in the past, make an urgent appeal to the Government to take all practical steps in the carrying out of its policy so that human relations should not be muddled and that friction should be reduced to a minimum.

By its policy and by synodical declarations the Dutch Reformed Church has stated clearly in the past that it can accept and approve the policy of independent and distinctive (*eiesoortige*) development only if it is carried out in a just and honourable manner without injury or offence to human dignity.

The church has also assumed that this policy, particularly in its initial stages, will inevitably involve a certain amount of dislocation, inconvenience and hardship, as, for instance, in the clearing away of slums. The whole pass-system must be looked at in this light.

Further, the improvement of the wage-structure calls

for the careful attention of the Government and also of all private employers.

Of immense importance indeed are mutual attitudes and relations. Being profoundly aware of the extremely difficult task which all public servants must perform, we would earnestly plead that all the non-whites should always be dealt with in a self-respecting manner. It is the continual pin-pricks caused by thoughtlessness that ultimately produce a harvest of hate.

3. We must also address a word to our white members who form about fifty per cent of the white population of South Africa.

We would plead for self-control and the maintenance of Christian steadiness. Now, more than ever, must we stress our faith and trust in the Gospel of Jesus Christ as a power of God unto salvation, and live it out in disposition, word and deed.

In so far as whites are not always guiltless of un-Christian disposition, of wounding words, of unsympathetic dealing with the non-whites, and since the strain or confusion of recent times can easily lead to irresponsible words or deeds, we would ask that we as Christians should bow in humility before the authority of the Word of God and always test our behaviour against the demands of truthfulness, righteousness, compassion and love. "What does the Lord require of you but to do justice and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Micah. 6. 8.)

4. Finally we would address a word to the non-whites and especially to the members of the various mission churches.

We would summon the responsible and law-abiding non-whites not to let themselves be misled by false promises of agitators who have not the highest well-being of the non-whites in their hearts but will merely use them to reach political aims which go much deeper than the immediate grievances and ultimately have no good in them even for the non-whites.

We summon the Christians and other responsible non-whites to come forward now and take up a strong position against the small, organised minority which is actively trying to bring about chaos and strife and to retard the true interests of the non-whites.

For our part we undertake to stand by them in the future as in the past in all things right and reasonable, and to further their highest interests along recognised and orderly paths.

The church can never sympathise with any attempts, for the sake of real or imaginary grievances, to create lawlessness or disorder in the community.

In such a time as this we would assure the Government and all responsible for the maintenance of security and order of our constant prayers.

A. J. van der Merwe, P. S. Z. Coetzee, A. M. Meiring, C. B. Brink, A. G. E. van Velden, J. D. Vorster, W. A. Landman, F. E. o'B. Geldenhuys, Z. B. Loots.

Afrikaaner Interest in an "English" College

IT is hardly 'cricket' to regard as characteristic those utterances of Parliamentarians which are hurled at opponents in the course of debates, or even to treat seriously the arguments employed to reinforce a Bill that is going to be pushed through in any case by a political party with an assured majority. While such a party is engaged in defending its over-riding policy, too much heed need not be paid to those of its orators who discovered their strongest argument for the Transfer of Fort Hare University College from the direct control of its own Council to that of the Department of Bantu Education, in the charge that Fort Hare was an "English Institution!" Had there been in this even a semblance of truth, it would still not have warranted an *apologia*, for in the realm of higher education it is not easy, and certainly not desirable, to confine the mode of instruction to any narrow national tradition; but even if there were such a tendency in any university institution, it might with justice be claimed that the adoption of an English educational tradition would be as nearly "universal" as any system extant offering itself as a model. One need not be too polemical in a matter of

fact. If it be granted that the 'ethos' of a community contains a large linguistic element, it is to the credit of Fort Hare that from the very start, emphasis was laid upon the spoken and written languages of the students, and not on one only, but on four. Moreover, from the moment it was decided to admit other non-Europeans than Bantu who were most familiar with Afrikaans, that study was added to the curriculum, displacing French which a few non-Bantu had professed. It was moreover, the influence of Fort Hare which caused the Bantu languages to be retained as subjects of examination for matriculation, and the needs of Fort Hare which induced the University Council to continue them and kindred studies as options for degrees.

My present purpose, however, is to recall, with great appreciation, the names of some of those from the Afrikaans-speaking side of our nation who manifested interest in the work of Fort Hare, encouraged it by their visits, and as members of Council, or, as members of staff, made distinctive contributions over considerable periods. To mention all those would result in this account becoming mainly a catalogue of names, so,

reserving some for fuller treatment later, I pay tribute to a few of the earliest helpers of the College.

And first mention in time and place must be given to the responsible Minister in charge of Union Education in General Botha's cabinet of 1915—the Hon. F. S. Malan. So far as university education was controlled at all, it was controlled by his Department. But, excluding primary and secondary schools, which were the responsibility of the Provinces, several other forms of education fell into the department, as, for example, that touching all handicapped children. There was no Union law under which education for Africans at Fort Hare could be administered by the Education Department, so it must have been assumed to fall under some general rule about the underprivileged classes. No claim certainly could have been established for it on the basis of university studies, for although there was every intention that the College should ultimately provide these, there was no immediate prospect of any batch of students at the stage of normal university entrance. But Fort Hare was intended to be the institution where the highest type of education that the Bantu were thought to be capable of taking, would be provided. Indeed there was one parliamentary bill where Fort Hare actually supplied part of the definition of 'higher education.' The clause ran something like this: "higher education is education provided by a university or university college, and such education as is provided at the South African Native College, Fort Hare." But in the recollection of the Bantu two acts will be remembered to the credit of Mr. F. S. Malan: first, the taking of Fort Hare under the wing of his department; and second, the first provision of an annual sum of the estimates, without which a start would have been impossible. This grant was intimated in January 1915 and immediately the supporting bodies, territories and churches, and donors, became confident that a beginning, on however small a scale, could at length be made.

One more significant move Minister Malan made when he nominated his departmental Head, Mr. G. M. Hofmeyr, as one of the two Government representatives on the Council of the College, then in process of being organized; the second was Mr. Edward Dower, Secretary for Native Affairs, of which department the Prime Minister himself held the portfolio. Mr. Dower belonged to a well-known missionary family and had received part of his own education at Lovedale. These officers were towers of strength to us at the beginning.

Mr. F. S. Malan continued to take a keen interest in the College even after its establishment. In 1921 he opened the first section of the first tuition building, which had been erected by means of a loan sponsored by his department. It was a blazing hot January day in

1921 and the guests had to stand in the open while the customary speeches were being delivered, one of which, by a highly respected African, took rather longer than seemed necessary, but he simply had to make full use of the opportunity to let the Minister know just what Africans were thinking! Some reference to slavery, however, brought forth a correction from Mr. Malan, who reminded the speaker that the Bantu in the Cape had never been enslaved.

Fifteen years later, in 1936, Mr. Malan was again invited to open a handsome building which received the name of "Livingstone Hall," since in it were housed the two sciences, Physics and Chemistry, and the laboratories for the government-sponsored medical aid course. On this occasion the function was held indoors for rain, kinder to the country than to the ceremony, drove the audience into the Assembly Hall. Mr. Malan was the essence of friendliness, with an ease of manner which muted but did not subdue the strong convictions which in that very year became evident to all through his stand against the "Hertzog Bills" in Parliament. He was one of two Cabinet Ministers who bequeathed substantial sums to endow scholarships at Fort Hare.

The permanent Head of the Union Education Department, as I have noted, was Mr. G. M. Hofmeyr. In contrast to his Minister, F. S. Malan, who, in name and appearance, suggested a Huguenot ancestry, George Hofmeyr, in build and manner might have been taken for a prosperous Dutch farmer. He was an alumnus of Victoria College, which later developed into Stellenbosch University. On one occasion he told me that he had been somewhat dubious about coming into an environment where so much was being done for the educated native, because he had once been done down over a horse deal by a native who, he obviously thought, had had too much education! But no one could have been more considerably interested in the progress of the African than he. He had, of course, to warn us: that Council decisions in which he might have had a share, might have to be revised by him when they came up for scrutiny by his office, but as we were very modest in our proposals in those days, Mr. Hofmeyr suffered no embarrassment. He was certainly of great assistance to us in our correspondence with the government.

It was during his tenure of office that the College was included in the Higher Education Act of 1923 which was being promoted to regulate the administration of Technical Colleges which, in the twenties were being multiplied. Fort Hare did not properly belong to this group of institutions, but at the stage at which we were then, it gave us statutory recognition, and, for the first time gave the staff assured conditions of service, including scales of salaries, a provident fund, leave, sickness and

retirement privileges, improvements which were invaluable in attracting additional members of staff. As time passed the College outgrew the Technical College set-up and affiliation, and inclined more to the university rule. Incidentally this method of progression, which then was incumbent upon us, is an illustration of what often seems the only way in which those engaged in native affairs can make headway. But it also illustrates

how high-minded official action can minimize the rigours that stem from that vague and uncertain climate called public opinion, to which politicians have to be so attentive.

George Hofmeyr's early death was to us a loss and a personal sorrow.

ALEXANDER KERR.

Festival of Prayer

(23rd to 31st May 1960)

An invitation from the organisers

We ask you to pray

"O Lord God, bless our land, and make us worthy to be called Thy people."

We ask the clergy

to Preach, Pray, Prepare, so that when the Festival comes the people of each congregation will be ready and eager to join in offering their prayers.

We ask the clergy

to seek the help of other clergy, leaders of guilds, societies, associations and editors of newspapers and magazines so that not one Christian person in our land remains unaware of this great turning to God.

We ask the leaders of Church Guilds, Clubs, Societies, to tell members about the Festival of Prayer.

FOR nine whole days, from 6 a.m. 23rd May to 6 a.m. 1st June, an unbroken offering of prayer will be made to God.

YOUR church should be responsible for a certain portion of this time.

When will it be ?

You can choose any day from 23rd to 31st May for YOUR Day of Prayer. Consult your Clergy.

What will you do ?

On your chosen Day of Prayer members of your church will take it in turn to pray in church for a certain period of time, (say, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour or 1 hour) so that for 24 hours there will never be a minute when prayer is not ascending to God.

Who will pray ?

If it is humanly possible every member of your church will be in church for a certain time on YOUR Day of Prayer.

The man returning from night shift will be there from 6 to 6.30, a man on his way to the factory will take the shift from 6.30 to 7, perhaps office workers will pray from 7 to 8.30.

The mother who has taken a small child to school will take her turn from 8.30 to 9 ; then perhaps a group of women from the Women's Guild will come together

from 9 to 10, others from 10 to 12 ; some men may divide the lunch hour between them ; other women may be able to share out the afternoon hours. Members of the Young People's Fellowship will come on duty after school and after work, and share the hours between 4 and 9. Groups of men from Men's Guilds, and husbands and wives together will keep the vigil through the night hours. (2 or 3 or more should be on the late night and early morning shifts together).

Day and Night throughout our land there will be prayer, concentrated, continuous, sacrificial prayer ascending to God

IN ADORATION

IN SORROW FOR OUR SINS AND MISTAKES

IN OFFERING OF OURSELVES AND OUR LAND TO GOD

IN PRAYER FOR ALL MEN

IN THANKSGIVING TO GOD FOR HIS MANY MERCIES.

Will you join in this great act of dedication ?

SEND a postcard to the CALL TO PRAYER COMMITTEE,

31 Sunningdale, Gordge Road, Durban,

saying which day you have chosen as YOUR Day of Prayer, saying how many hours of unbroken prayer you will maintain,

Note : Small congregations may have to be content to maintain 12 or 6 hours of unbroken prayer

"O LORD GOD, BLESS OUR LAND, AND MAKE US WORTHY TO BE CALLED THY PEOPLE."

36 Of Law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world ; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power.

Richard Hooker

Ecclesiastical Policy, bk. i, * 1

Fort Hare Graduation Ceremony

The thirty-fifth Annual Graduation Ceremony of the University College of Fort Hare and the ninth since the affiliation of Fort Hare to Rhodes University was held in the Great Hall of Rhodes University Grahamstown on Saturday, 23rd April 1960 at 11 o'clock.

Dr. T. Alty, Ph.D., D.Sc., D.C.L., F.INST.P., F.R.S.C., F.R.S.E., Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University, presided.

After the Congregation had been constituted, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History read a portion of Scripture and offered a Prayer.

The Vice-Chancellor then addressed the Congregation as follows :

Graduands, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I WISH to begin my remarks this morning by offering the University's warmest congratulations to all our graduands on the attainment of their degrees. Rhodes University is proud of its graduates and we welcome you into their ranks. I wish also to welcome the parents of the graduands who have been able to be present at this ceremony. I know well that the years at Fort Hare have imposed great financial sacrifices on many of you and on your parents, and I am very glad that today you can participate in the ceremony which symbolises the completion of a long and arduous task. We congratulate you all, graduands and parents alike, and offer you our sincere good wishes for future success.

Graduation day is a day to remember for every graduate of a University but there are special circumstances which make this ceremony today unique.

In the first place, we meet this morning in unusual circumstances—at a graduation ceremony for Fort Hare graduands which is not being held at Fort Hare. It is the first time that such a thing has happened since degrees were first granted to students of the College and as we all know, it is taking place here this year because of the severing of the connection between Fort Hare and this University which took place at the end of 1959. Rhodes University has no longer any authority in the College or any standing to influence or assist in its work. Nevertheless the close connection which has existed between the two institutions ever since the foundation of Fort Hare gives us a continuing interest in the welfare of your College, and I know I speak for my colleagues in assuring you that we shall always be willing to assist the College in the future, if called upon, to maintain the proper academic standards we have in the past striven to establish.

The future however lies with the new authorities of the College and in relinquishing our own responsibility for the College's work, we wish them every success in provid-

ing a sound and broad university education for the Africans attending Fort Hare. All students enrolled in the College in 1958 are entitled to complete their degrees in Rhodes University, while all new students must work under the auspices of the University of South Africa. There must therefore be some duplication of syllabuses and classes at the College during the next year or two and it might be well for students who have not yet completed half their degree courses to consider changing over to the University of South Africa if, by so doing, they can fit in more easily with the new courses to be provided. That is however a matter for individual students to take up with the College authorities and I merely wish to draw their attention to possible difficulties in continuing to work for a Rhodes degree if they find that the courses they require are being based on the syllabuses of the University of South Africa. I must make it clear that all students legally entitled to work for Rhodes degrees are most welcome to do so, and the suggestion I have just made is made with a view to assisting both the students and the College through the difficult years of transition.

However that may be, today's graduands have received their entire training under the auspices of the affiliation with Rhodes and it is right and fitting that they should receive their degrees here in their own university and we welcome them here this morning.

In the second place we meet today at a time when a state of emergency has been declared in our country and when anxiety and distress are in many minds. Any such feelings will not, I hope, cause us to lose sight of the increasing need for trained and educated men in every section of the community, or of the responsibilities of such privileged men to the community as a whole. Indeed, in the solution of our many problems, so urgently demanding solution, each racial group will need wise leadership and a very objective approach to its problems. And each group will rely very greatly on its graduates to provide that objective outlook. You therefore go out into the world with special responsibilities to do your best to assist in the working out of general problems in the best interests both of your own racial group and of the whole community—for only solutions which are to the general good of all are likely to receive general acceptance and so prove to be lasting.

I should like to say a few words more on the subject of graduation and its responsibilities. At any time, and in any place, graduation day is an important landmark in the career of the graduand. It marks the end of a long period of effort—for no one obtains a degree without effort—and it marks you out as one trained for

leadership in your own community, be that community large or small. In entering a university and submitting to its academic discipline, you and your parents have made many sacrifices and today you begin to see your reward. At the same time you should remember that at the University you have received great benefits and support from the community as a whole—your college, your church and the general public. In fact, thinking only of the financial aspect of a university education for a moment, it is true for every pound you have spent on your education at Fort Hare, others have spent about nine pounds on your behalf. It is right that this should be so, but it is right also that each graduate should appreciate the special support that he has received and in consequence the special responsibility he has to serve his fellow men.

Another and more direct responsibility lying on a graduate is the responsibility to *use his mind*. The earning of a university degree is itself a proof of work done, and of work done which required the ability to *think*; work requiring the ability to weigh up a situation with an honest effort to reach unbiassed conclusions, to exercise forethought and to see the results of action and reaction not only in the laboratories but in life itself. It is however not enough to have shown by obtaining a degree that you *can* use your mind. If you are to be true to your graduation today, to be worthy members of the community of university men and women, *you must continue to think*.

That is what I want to ask you to remember—the obligation that you should use your minds in every aspect and crisis of life which may be before you. *Because* you are graduates, for the rest of your lives you will be known among your fellow men and women as *graduates*. They will tend to *notice* what you say; they will probably come to you for advice and leadership. So, as you confront the issues of your day and generation it behoves you to think carefully over them, study them as you have studied the subjects of your curriculum in the past years, and in forming your opinions, avoid in every way you can either racial or personal bias. If you can do this in your own lives you will not only bring honour to yourselves and your training but your influence, whether in small things or in great, will be of great value to every community in which you may live.

Finally I want to draw your attention again to the wider issues of the world in which we are living today in the middle of the 20th century. I am sure that in your undergraduate years you have heard much and thought much about the wonderful developments which man's scientific knowledge has brought into our lives in the past 50 years. The "wind of change" is being talked of at the moment—but it is important to realise that a

wind of change has been blowing over the whole world in the past four or five decades. The older members of this audience will remember the coming of the motor car, the early, and usually unsuccessful attempts at flying, the beginnings of radio, while within and without the university world, we have seen the development of scientific knowledge which has brought many strange and wonderful things into the lives of people everywhere. Perhaps above all one of the most startling developments has been the increased speed of travel—to the ends of the earth within a few hours and possibly as rocket development progresses, within a few minutes. All these things have brought fundamental changes to people everywhere, changes in habits, customs, thought and outlook. In very many ways all this has created confusion in men's minds and we still need to find a way to clear that confusion. We are living in a difficult age, an age of swift change and constant readjustment of ideas, and I think it is important that we should keep that in mind when *we* feel confused and troubled at the present time. If experience may say a word to youth on the subject perhaps I could suggest that things in life are almost never as bad as you anticipate—but at the same time it may perhaps be true that the things you think that are going to be wonderful are not always up to anticipation.

Despite the difficulties of the present, I hope you are enjoying your graduation and that in the years to come you will have only happy memories of today.

In the name of the University I congratulate you and wish you well.

The Graduands were then presented to the Vice-Chancellor those in Arts by Professor R. K. J. E. Antonissen, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, those in Science by Professor D. W. Ewer, Dean of the Faculty of Science, Professor D. M. Morton, Dean of the Faculty of Education announced the awards of Diplomas and Certificates.

To be honest, to be kind—to earn a little and to spend a little less, to make upon the whole a family happier for his presence, to renounce when that shall be necessary and not be embittered, to keep a few friends but these without capitulation—above all, on the same grim condition to keep friends with himself—here is a task for all that a man has of fortitude and delicacy.

Robert Louis Stevenson.

Constitution-Making for Democracy

An alternative to apartheid

D. V. Cowen

With acknowledgments to "Optima" which continues to make such valuable contributions to our knowledge and thought in many directions. This article is the first of four special supplements to mark the Jubilee of Union and the magazine's tenth year of publication. Others will deal with (a) the social relations between White and non-White in South Africa, (b) African workers in industry, and (c) the role of South Africa seen against the emergent Black states to the north.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM

THE history of every society reveals a struggle between the forces which draw men together into one organized community and keep them there, and those which disrupt a community and keep men apart. These are the hard facts with which every constitution has to deal; and, in devising a framework of government for a country, it is essential to have them constantly in sight. Their action will either preserve or destroy a constitution—preserve it if it has given them due recognition and scope; destroy it if its provisions turn out to be opposed to the sweep of irresistible currents. Indeed, the forces which tend to unite or disserve society are to the constructive statesman what the forces of nature are to man. They can be overcome, in Bacon's phrase, only by obeying them. If he defies or misunderstands them, they overthrow his work. If he knows how to use them, they preserve it.

The operation of these two groups of forces presents a particularly difficult and perplexing problem where races of different colour are juxtaposed on the same soil—a problem which Lord Bryce once observed was the despair of the statesman, and, in his view, probably beyond the skill of the constitution-maker.¹

In its most acute yet at the same time most typical form, the problem has two aspects. In the first place, where a majority of non-White persons are present together on the same soil with a minority of White persons, and the average non-White differs from the average White in background and in the level of cultural attainment, is it possible to achieve the sense of security and the community of interest and aspiration necessary to provide the basis for a healthy and stable society? Or are the disruptive elements, particularly those of fear and prejudice, likely to prove so strong that the only expedient is to acknowledge their supremacy, and arrange for the races to live apart in separate territories and separately organized communities?

The second aspect of the problem is even more challenging. Assuming that it is possible to disarm fear and prejudice, and to find a way for races of different colour to live together in one society having a single economy, is it practicable to organize that society on a democratic basis? Do individuals or minority groups require special protection against the power of a majority and especially against racial discrimination? If so, should such protection be sought in constitutional machinery; and how may such a constitution best be devised?

In parts of South America—notably Brazil—and in the West Indies, races of different colour have, it would seem, found a workable solution of these problems along the lines of integration and assimilation.²; and in the United States the course is now set deliberately, if not very speedily, in the same direction. But the picture is very different in those parts of Africa where the White man has put down roots, and desires to settle permanently; there the dominant traits are still uncertainty, indecision—and, in some places, potential disaster.

The test case both in difficulty and importance is probably that of the Union of South Africa. If, as it seems, the colour problem is only easily manageable where one of the groups forms a negligible and powerless minority; and if it be true, as some have suggested, that colour prejudice and race feeling are primarily Teutonic phenomena,³ or—as Toynbee would have it—an old Testament aberration of Protestantism,⁴ then, indeed, the elements of the problem are compounded in South Africa in a most harrassing way. The South African scene compels attention, however, not only because of its inherent complexity, but also because we are to-day witnessing an attempt to find a solution of

¹ After a subsequent visit to Brazil, Lord Bryce was, however, less despondent. I have attempted in these opening paragraphs to summarize the theme of Bryce's well-known essay on *The Action of Centripetal and Centrifugal Forces on Political Constitutions*. See, generally, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. 1, pp. 255 sqq.

² In the course of this article I shall, as far as possible, use the terms "integration" and "assimilation" as they are defined in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary. The term *integration* is useful to emphasize the formation of one politically organized society by the various racial groups. The term *assimilation* emphasizes the systematic disappearance of differences based on race or colour. "Non-differentiation" and "non-discrimination," according to the dictionary, may be used synonymously; but in racially mixed societies, such as the Union of South Africa, the word "discrimination" has come to mean "discriminate against," i.e. "differentiate to the prejudice of."

³ See Bryce: *South America; Observations and Impressions*, 1914, p. 482.

⁴ *A Study of History*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 211 sqq.

race problems along very controversial lines, in the teeth of critical and hostile world opinion.

Until the National Party Government came into power in 1948, the operative social, economic and political forces in South Africa—those that tend to unite as well as those that tend to divide—had been allowed to exert their influence without much deliberate planning; and, broadly speaking, the trend was increasingly towards integration.

The strongest forces working to bind Whites and non-Whites into one South African society with a single economy have, of course, been trade and industry: the White man needs and desires the benefits of non-White labour and the non-White market; and the non-Whites need and desire employment and the benefits of White capital and skills. By 1948, these incentives had already operated for many generations and had produced a considerable degree of economic integration. Indeed, as a distinguished authority once observed, "the economic entanglement of Whites and non-Whites is one of the oldest and most solid facts of South African history."⁵

It is, of course, true that policies of racial discrimination and segregation have long been practised in South Africa; but whereas, before 1948, these were empirical and sporadic and, above all, allowed the forces of integration to operate in important fields, we now have to face a calculated, systematic and legally enforced plan of separation and separate development, which has become internationally known by the Afrikaans word *apartheid*.

Strong as the economic incentives towards integration continue to be, ruthless efforts are now being made to discourage the operation of unifying tendencies, and to foster the growth of forces that disserve the races. Education, for example, which can be a most potent unifying factor when used to give a society ideas and aspirations in common, is being used to divide and set up racial barriers. By providing for separate housing areas,⁶ separate transport facilities and other public amenities,⁷ separate education with a tribal curriculum for Africans at the school level,⁸ and separate higher education;⁹ by differential laws in industry denying to Africans the right to strike,¹⁰ and reserving skilled jobs for whites;¹¹ by restrictive legislation concerning land,¹² marriage,¹³ and other relationships;¹⁴ by the rigours of a population register;¹⁵ by pass laws,¹⁶ and a whole series of measures radically curtailing the basic human freedom for non-Whites;¹⁷ in short, by differentiating in the eye of the law between Whites and non-Whites wherever their paths cross, the exponents of apartheid seek to arrest and devitalize the power of the forces of unity. And, let me add, in effecting this discrimination, the doctrine of "separate but equal," which was tried

and is being abandoned in the United States as not good enough, was tried in South Africa and thrown overboard, by Act of Parliament, because it proved too expensive.¹⁸

These developments, seen against the background of growing African nationalism, have made it abundantly clear that the days for a *laissez faire* policy in regard to South African race relations, or for muddling along with vaguely articulated policies, are gone. And for this we may perhaps be thankful: one positive result of the policy of *apartheid* is that far more people in the Union are thinking seriously about race relations than ever before. Convinced, however, as I am, that *apartheid* is a wrong policy, one of despair, and potentially disastrous, it is my object in this article to examine what seems to me, in the light of the actually operative social, economic and political forces, to be the only hopeful alternative.

⁵ The late Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé: *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*—the Phelps-Stokes Lectures for 1939, U.W. Press, p. 173.

⁶ The Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, as amended and consolidated by the Group Areas Act, 1957; Natives (Urban Areas Consolidation) Act, No. 25 of 1945, as amended.

⁷ The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No. 49 of 1953.

⁸ The Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953.

⁹ The Extension (*sic*) of University Education Act, 1959.

¹⁰ Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, No. 48 of 1953, sec. 18.

¹¹ Native Building Workers Act, No. 27 of 1951, sec. 15; Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 28 of 1956, sec. 77.

¹² Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913; Natives (Urban Areas Consolidation) Act, No. 25 of 1945 as amended.

¹³ The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949.

¹⁴ The Immorality Act, No. 23 of 1957, sec. 16.

¹⁵ The Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950.

¹⁶ Natives (Abolition of passes (*sic*) and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952. On earlier pass legislation controlling freedom of movement, see *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa*, ed. Hellmann, pp. 265 *sqq.* The new Act removes the word "pass" from the statute book, but continues the actual substance of the law relating to passes in their popular connotation. See Annual Survey of South African Law for 1952, p. 37.

¹⁷ Several of these measures have conveniently been brought together by Leslie Rubin in *This is Apartheid*, Gollancz, 1959. See also *Civil Liberty in South Africa* by E. H. Brookes and J. B. Macaulay, Oxford, 1958.

¹⁸ See The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No. 49 of 1953, sec. 3, which lays down that separate amenities provided for one race may not be declared invalid merely on the ground that they are not substantially similar to, or of the same standard as, those reserved for another race. This Act was passed as a result of a number of Supreme Court cases striking down separate railway facilities on the ground that they were not substantially equal.

(To be continued)

What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!

Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just,

And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,

Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted

King Henry VI.

All political news and comment in this issue are contributed and written to express the views of the *South African Outlook* by O. Bull, Lovedale, C.P.

New Books

Jesus and His Story, by Ethelbert Stauffer, (S.C.M. Press, 192 pp. 12/6.)

The writer, who is a professor at the University of Erlangen, has established himself as one of the most influential New Testament scholars of the day. Two of his previous books, *Christ and the Caesars* and *New Testament Theology*, have ensured this, and the present smaller volume shows in the same class. It discloses an astonishing range of learning held in fee by a burning conviction of the complete adequacy of Jesus Christ.

Dr. Stauffer claims that this little book is "a bit of pioneer work—an icebreaker, if we may say and hope so." He has set himself to draw upon what he terms 'indirect' sources about the Saviour's life, by which he means the contemporary evidence concerning the conditions, events, and personalities playing any part in the story. He would open up new sources entirely free from any pro-Christian bias and align them with the accepted Christian tradition. Many of them have no knowledge of Christ at all, but at one point or another they make it possible to check or enrich the fourfold story that we have of Him, and in some cases reconcile the superficial disagreements in it. Most valuable light is thrown on the often rather puzzling chronology of the Evangelists and a definite time table is worked out, tracing the story from month to month, and, for the crisis days, hour by hour. This is a great help towards reality.

Wisely the writer makes no attempts to interpret the facts which he lights up so vividly. He wants simply to bring into clearer relief the Saviour's interpretation of Himself, in order that we may understand much more clearly what His self-affirmations really meant at the time, and for all future time.

For English readers this book is kept alive and enriching by the excellent translation given us by Dorothea Barton.

O.B.

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Race Relations Journal : No. 2 Vol. 26 2/6 (Free to members of Race Relations Institute P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.)

This concise pamphlet is full of good things. There is first an authoritative account by Miss Horrell of the progress being made in instituting the Bantu Authorities. This gives up-to-date information about Tribal, District, Regional and Territorial Authorities, with special reference to the most developed area, the Transkei. Only in the latter area will the general tax payer have any say in the nomination or election of the members of these bodies. Parliamentary representation as hitherto known and practised in the reserves will have disappeared by June 1960. Whether the population will be satisfied with the

Commissioners-General who will be nominated to replace members of Parliament hitherto elected by African constituencies in the territorial Authorities remains to be seen.

Other articles in this number are a very up-to-date account by Anne Braden of the race situation in the Southern States of America since the introduction of the policy of integration into the schools; and a short paper by Mr. S. J. du Toit, a Senior Professional Officer in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing, which is valuable for its statistics and its analysis of trends during the past three decades in the employment of farm labour.

A.K.

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This is Life, by a Religious of C.S.M.V. (S.C.M. 8/6).

Subtitled "a book for the busy" this is at once a vivid and inviting book. Brief, and to the point, it vividly summarizes "Biblical Theology" and it invitingly calls to worship and to prayer which are shown as not only the true basis but also the whole meaning of Christian living. It is a book to help Christians "to live more nearly as we pray" just because it reveals the meaning of prayer, and the impossibility of prayer continuing to be prayer if it stands apart from a Christian's daily living.

After a consideration of "Life" in the Old and New Testament, the reader is led on to consider Worship in Church, worship in private and worship all the time; and there is much to help both the beginner in the way and the more mature. Any Christian can read this little book with great profit.

N.B.

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The Dying and Living Lord, by Helmut Gollwitzer, (S.C.M. Press, 123 pp. 5/-).

This is a series of meditations on the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord, by the author of *Unwilling Journey*, which many will remember as a moving record of the writer's experiences as a prisoner in Russia after service as a medical orderly in the German army on the eastern front. Prior to his war service Dr. Gollwitzer was pastor during 1939 and 1940 of the church in the Berlin suburb of Dahlem from which Martin Niemöller was removed to become Hitler's prisoner.

Here are fifteen studies based on the closing chapters of the Gospel of Luke. They are a confident call to reality in an environment hostile to the essential message of the Faith. They set out clearly what following Christ truly must mean in a world that scorns Him. There is no attempt at fine talking but a quiet sincerity and aptness of application which are far more arresting. There

are myriads of books on the Passion, but it was well worth while to add this one.

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Between the Testament, by D. S. Russell, (S.C.M. Press, 176 pp. 12/6).

As the name suggests this book is a survey of the history and literature of the Jewish people between the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New—a period, that is, about which most readers of the Bible know little or nothing, and consequently understand much less about the world into which the Saviour was born than they might. And now so much new light has been thrown on this era by archaeological and literary discoveries that a much clearer sense of its importance prevails. This has led Mr. Russell, who is Principal of Rawdon Baptist College and lecturer in theology at the University of Leeds, to produce a brief but very excellent account of what those years held for the Jewish people. It was a period that witnessed important changes in their religious thinking and some knowledge of these adds very considerably to our understanding of much of the Gospels.

Here, compactly and yet readably set out, is a great deal of knowledge about the cultural and religious background of the times and also of the various sects among the Jews, including the Covenanters of Qumran, of Dead Sea Scrolls fame. Special attention is devoted to the 'Apocalyptists' and to the significant contribution which was made by them to the development of belief. People who want to study the New Testament seriously, or to teach it, will find great help here.

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A Decisive Hour for the Christian Mission. S.C.M. Press, 96 pp. 5/-.

Here is a small paper-backed book which has no particular 'presence' but is compact with vigour and inspiration. It comes from the East Asia Christian Conference which was held at Kuala Lumpur in Malaya last year, and contains the six "John R. Mott Memorial Lectures" which were delivered on that occasion by a remarkable galaxy of Christian leaders. Dr. Lesslie Newbigin, formerly bishop in India and now General Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and his opposite number in the World Council of Churches, Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, are each responsible for two lectures, and the other two are by Dr. Norman Goodall, the Secretary of the Joint Committee of these two ecumenical bodies, and Dr. D. T. Niles, of Ceylon, who is Chairman of the World's Students Christian Federation and General Secretary of the East Asian Christian Conference. With such a team it is hardly necessary to say that the lectures are entirely worthy of the giant among Christian leaders whom they commemorate. In

the words of Bishop Enrique Sobrepena, of the Philippines, who was chairman of the conference, they "delineate new direction and describes new strategy for the Christian missionary movement." Setting and emphasis are both primarily Asiatic, but the little book is full of fascinating and inspiring stuff for Christians anywhere in the world.

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Predestination and other papers, Pierre Maury. S.C.M. 12/6.

Dr. Robert C. Mackie contributes a short Memoir of Dr. Pierre Maury to this brief discussion of Predestination, or Election, as the author prefers to call his subject, and Karl Barth adds a note on his friendship with Maury. Included also are four notes of sermons which we imagine will convey the personality of Pierre Maury to the reader more successfully than the theological disquisition. Maury was general secretary of the French Student Christian Movement from 1919 to 1925. Between pastorates he was on the staff of the World's Student Christian Federation of which he was Vice-Chairman from 1935 to 1938. He was also for a time Professor of Dogmatics in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris and President of the Reformed Church of France. He was an outstanding leader of students, a man of great intellectual activity, combined with a singular aptitude for getting into touch with people. Dr. Mackie says that he was the chief interpreter of Barthianism to French Protestantism and Karl Barth himself witnesses to the unique friendship that he had with Maury. The vitality of his faith shines out of the sermons included in this work and particularly in the last which he preached in Morocco five days only before his death. This and the others illustrate the justice of his claim that election or any other theological doctrine must be interpreted in the light of pastoral duty towards living souls. There will be many who were students after 1920 who will be glad to have this memorial volume.

A.K.

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In the book *A Working Faith* by the Archbishop of Cape Town, which has recently come from the Lutterworth Press in its series entitled 'Preaching for Today' there is this pleasant story:—

A young girl named Edith was a successful pickpocket and found churches to be useful fishing grounds. In one of them one day she found the service attractive and was especially moved by the preacher's text: 'This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them.' She misheard the words a little and they spoke directly to her, for the thought she heard 'This man receiveth sinners and Edith with them.' The Archbishop's comment is 'Of course she was right; not Edith only, but you and me.'